286 /37 cont./ 1. Here again the Kapala group appeared to be comparatively the best provided. In its 81 houses, 73 looms were found; in the 18 houses of the Mangenre group, 11; and in the 30 houses of the Rest group, 17. In a few houses I observed two looms.

looms in their own houses and are therefore dependent upon kinsmen for use of one. Wherever the household is incapable of fulfilling a certain task, the latter is taken over by the related group. It is safe to assume that the lack of yarn during more than five consecutive years, in any case until 1948, the year of this registration, was the reason that no new looms were acquired, while disuse caused many of them to deteriorate. The remaining 101 will therefore probably be used up after a few years.

602 One can observe regularly that female relatives "get" from each other a household article or a few ingredients for a meal. In such a case one does not speak of borrowing, and it is not regarded as such, for these are all everyday matters. Without these items one is helpless, and therefore they use them among each other. Soap, rice (beras), and a saucepan are apparently equally common articles, but these definitely do not go from hand to hand every day. What is stated here applies to female relatives; among them this [609] mutual assistance is a matter of course. But they have a different attitude toward a non-relative. Should she come to get something several times in a row, there are many ways of making clear to her that this is little appreciated.

462 The men have the task of bringing home from pasar, garden, or sawah whatever is necessary for daily existence. They cultivate the sawah and garden. They provide the women with

462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The household always constitutes the center of these activities. Male members of the household work together at these jobs. Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a single house are insufficient for a certain job.

462 592 [476]

By no means does every house have its own plow. Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

241 592

[556]

1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangenre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

[602] is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

[609 427]

although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

476 602 Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

476 602 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened by this. A household that is apart from the others can request 476 558 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency, but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever 609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior. 592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower 361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 612 621 Differences are thus observable between a household which lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 592 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30 592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

858 /143 cont./ Boys seem to go through a difficult period
867 at the age of approximately eleven to fourteen years. Before that, despite small differences from the girls, they were considered to be children, and as such they quite naturally stayed in the women's rooms. But around the age of ten to eleven, the older women make it plain to them that they
561 no longer belong there. Compared to women, however, men
562 have less unity. For them the difference in age plays a much more important role. It prevents the smooth interaction between older and younger men, because the older expect
561 obedience and a certain respect from the younger. The young
855 boys therefore find no unity in the group of men which makes
858 them feel at home. At the same time they do not possess the sexual maturity to participate in the boasting conversations about conquests and sexual achievements that are customary in the circle of young men. They are physically not yet strong enough to participate in brawls and great work schemes, and therefore they cannot talk about their exploits. They do not count among the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds. At the same time these twelve-year-old boys have not yet had much opportunity to associate with each other. So they first look for their age mates. They roam around, they are little noticed, and they don't feel at home anywhere.

Division of Labor

462 The domain of the women is house and yard. There they cook, wash, weave, and take care of the children. They leave the house only to pay visits or to run over to neighbors, who are also the closest kinsmen. When male visitors arrive they withdraw into the back part of the house. There is the kitchen; there they have their own separate
462 entrance. One could regard the women as a group whose
476 members /144/ help each other with daily household problems,

462 /144 cont./ whose older members supervise the younger
476 ones, and at the same time protect and lead them. This group forms a unit with respect to the group of men, but it does not act jointly otherwise.

462 The activities of women tie them to house and yard. Among their tasks are pounding rice, preparation of daily meals, festive meals, and offerings. Furthermore, they are charged with the spinning of yarn, weaving of sarongs, laundering and maintenance of clothes, and the care of small children. Except at harvest time women do not work in the sawahs (1).

[243]

1. A poor district, such as the vicinity of Takalar where plantings frequently have to be done several times because the first attempts fail, constitutes an exception. There the women help with planting.

[443] Older women who need a job on the side, sell home-made cookies at pasars and festivals. Sometimes they keep a small coffee warong /shop/.

177 462 At the present time a comparatively large number of these activities have been taken away from the women. Spinning practically no longer occurs. Commercial yarns [283] have taken the place of homespun products. During the Japanese period a temporary revival of spinning was note in a number of districts where the imported yarns could not fill the demand. Weaving decreased because of the large [286] import of cheap sarongs. Only better ones continued to be woven at home. Where rice mills are established, pounding [252] at home becomes an unnecessary drudgery (2).
[256]

A M G U I 534 476

[282 cont.]

Young people get acquainted in various ways. Activities in the rice fields often present occasions for getting acquainted, especially where such work is done with mutual assistance, as on Java during the rice harvest. The rice harvest, where men and women, old and young, participate in festive attire, gives young men and girls the finest opportunity for establishing tender relationships and marriages are never more frequent than during the first weeks of harvest time (4). The Alfoer of the Minahasa

4. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 525.

practice this mutual assistance and call it mapulus. Most acquaintance are made through this, and most engagements follow a mapulus. This is also the case among other peoples, e.g., the Ambonese (5), the Makassarese (6), etc.

5. Tijdschrift Ned. Aardr. Gen.
Vol. I, p. 243, note.

6. Ind. Gids, 1881, Vol. II, p. 829.

RL I 883 584 291

Among other peoples there are gatherings where boys and girls meet and have [283] the opportunity to become acquainted with one another. Here, I want to mention the Lampong specifically. Boys and girls often meet at night to chat or to pass the time in some other way. In general this is usually called manjara, which probably means the same as the Malayan mĕnjahut = to answer. The favorite pastime on this occasion is to make compliments in veiled terms, or recite pantuns, serambah in Lampong, in a singing tone drawn out as required. They must then be answered by the girl. I need not say that most love affairs start on these occasions. (I remind the reader of the regulation that on these occasions the boys must appear with the upper body bare, which I mentioned earlier concerning clothing. The adat prohibits the use of a badju [baju]) (1). Also among the Batak the boys

I Bt 883